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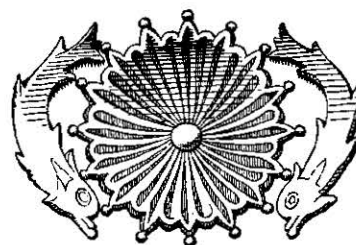
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THE APHRODITE PAPYRI AND VILLAGE LIFE IN BYZANTINE EGYPT*

The nearly one thousand years during which Egypt was characterized by a Greek-speaking elite have by papyrologists and historians traditionally been divided into three periods: the Ptolemaic, which marks its beginning with Alexander's invasion in 332 B.C.; the Roman, which begins with Octavian's reduction of Alexandria in 30 B.C.; and the Byzantine, which starts with Diocletian's accession in A.D. 284 and ends with the Arab invasion of A.D. 639¹. The Greek papyri recovered from ancient Egypt's cemeteries and waste heaps, whether by supervised excavations or by the less formal 'excavations' of the *sebakh*-diggers, especially toward the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, have made Egypt the best-known region of the Hellenistic, Roman and early Byzantine world². The evidence is not without its gaps, chronological and geographical, and only a small proportion of the papyri consists of pieces whose texts can stand on their own as important historical testimonia. Nevertheless, to cite just a few salient examples, the Greek papyri of the Ptolemaic period have produced copies of royal regulations, revenue laws and amnesty decrees, and documents on important land-reclamation projects in the Fayum³. Shortly over a decade ago, a Cologne papyrus of the Roman period proved to contain a fragmentary Greek version of the emperor Augustus' funeral oration for his second-in-command, Marcus Agrippa⁴. Byzantine-period papyri have produced references to some of Justinian's laws and practical examples of the working of legal rules and procedures whose theoretical outlines are set forth in the codes⁵.

Nonetheless, as has been indicated, most of the papyri that have been published are of uneven historical value, and this an unevenness that is roughly analogous to the vagaries touching the sites from which the Greek papyri have been recovered. For there is no single site or cluster of sites that is rich in documents for all three traditional periods: Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine. The villages on the desert edges of the Fayum, for example, are together the single most important source of Ptolemaic papyri. They are also exceedingly rich in Roman papyri; but a decay in the irrigation works and the consequent abandonment or depopulation of some of the major Fayum villages in the Byzantine period in the fourth century have rendered them negligible

as sources of papyri for the fifth and following centuries. On the other hand, Oxyrhynchus, the best-known source of Greek papyri and the most important single source for Roman and Byzantine pieces, has as yet yielded very little in the way of Ptolemaic papyri. Still another site, the one which this paper is about, the village of Aphrodite in the Thebaid, though apparently yielding no Ptolemaic papyri and only one (doubtful) Roman, rivals Oxyrhynchus as a source of Byzantine documents and is itself the most important source of Greek papyri of the early Islamic period⁶.

The first finds recorded as having been made at Aphrodite were made accidentally in 1901 by peasants who were digging a well in the village (modern Kom Ishqāw). A subsequent similar accident in 1905, which led to the recovery of a codex containing portions of five comedies by Menander, the first substantial fragments of that much-admired poet, brought M. Gustave Lefebvre, Inspector of Antiquities at Assiut, to the site, and in that year and the two years following he was responsible for the retrieval and removal to the Cairo Museum of many papyri from the village. At the same time the British Museum was actively acquiring for itself papyri originating from Kom Ishqāw: in 1903, a lion's share of the Greek papyri of early Arab date (these were products of the 1901 find just mentioned); in 1906 and 1907, more of the same, together with a significant complement (products of the 1905 find) to the sixth-century papyri that had been conveyed to the Cairo Museum and that would come to be published in three large volumes by Jean Maspero⁷.

Meanwhile the number of clandestine finds at Kom Ishqāw, or the richness of a few finds, must have been considerable. Although some of these secretly found papyri -- some that had been purchased by natives, others that were in the possession of M. Beaugé, chief engineer of Egyptian railroads at Assiut -- were recovered by the Antiquities Service for the Cairo Museum⁸, private discoveries at the village and sales through dealers at Assiut and Cairo and Paris dispersed Aphrodite's Byzantine and Islamic archives far and wide. Purchases of Aphrodite papyri, Greek, Coptic and Arabic, for Russian collections are noted as having been made by Professor N. Lichačov from a Paris antiquities dealer in 1905, and in Cairo in 1907, and by B. Turaiev in Egypt in 1910⁹. In 1908 Charles L. Freer bought in Cairo a number of Greek and Coptic Aphrodite papyri, now in the Freer Gallery of Art (Smithsonian Institution) in Washington, D.C., and forgotten until their rediscovery by Dr L.S.B. MacCoull

in 1971¹⁰. The three Greek and one Coptic Aphrodite papyri in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore were purchased in Paris in 1912; they had been part of the collection of Mr Giovanni Dattari of Cairo, an Italian-born 'purveyor to the British Army in Egypt'¹¹. These examples, however, must have been just bits and pieces of a much larger story, for papyri from Aphrodite are today also to be found in libraries and museums in Alexandria, Aberdeen, Cologne, Hamburg, Berlin, Erlangen, Heidelberg, Florence, Ghent, Geneva, Paris, Strasbourg, Vienna, Princeton, Michigan and the Vatican -- and even this list may not be exhaustive¹². No doubt the most striking single instance of the archive's dispersal was revealed in the 1976 publication by the late Rev. J.W.B. Barns of a papyrus owned by Dr W.M. Fitzhugh of Monterey, California -- the upper half of a document whose lower half was among the Cairo Museum papyri published by Maspero in 1911¹³.

The early Islamic-period Aphrodite papyri, Greek and Arabic, that came to light through these discoveries and purchases and through eventual publication are, a few of them, from the very end of the seventh century, while the large majority are from the first two decades of the eighth century. Many are the remains of the correspondence of an early 'Umayyad emir of Egypt, Kurrah ibn Sharik, with Flavius Basilios, administrator (pagarch) of the region around Aphrodite (as the village came to be called in the Arab period)¹⁴. Relatively few of the Coptic papyri, whether of Byzantine or of Islamic date, have been published; the tracking down of the Byzantine-age Coptic papyri in the Cairo Museum and elsewhere and their publication are goals of Dr MacCoull¹⁵. Many, but far from all, of the Greek Byzantine-period papyri, however, have seen their way into print. They are nearly all of the sixth century, with dated documents ranging from A.D. 506 to A.D. 598¹⁶. Most of these fall in the reign of the emperor Justinian (527-565) (and of Justin II); most, and perhaps all (thus P.Lond. V 1660 intro.), in some way owe their ancient drafting or safe-keeping to one Flavius Dioscorus, son of the village headman and (toward the end of his life) monastery-founder, Aurelius Apollos.

The careers of Apollos the father and Dioscorus his son were summarized long ago by Sir Harold Bell, editor of the British Museum Aphrodite papyri, in an article entitled 'An Egyptian village in the age of Justinian' (*JHS* 64 [1944] 21-36). Apollos was the son of another Dioscorus and the grandson of a certain Psimanobet. The family therefore must have had Coptic rather than Greek roots. By 514, Apollos is titled 'village headman' (ἐπισκοπάρχης) Later

papyri show him to be active in the political and economic affairs of his village. In A.D. 541 (*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67126), with Victor, a village priest, Apollos found himself in Constantinople.¹⁷ Sometime after his return and before his death (by 547), he established and gave his name to the monastery whose business affairs his son Dioscorus sometimes represented. Meanwhile, Dioscorus had committed himself to polishing his Greek, a language which he tried to put to good use on behalf of his community. He represented his village in Constantinople in A.D. 551, later suffered certain political and legal difficulties, and economic losses, in consequence of which he left Aphrodite for the provincial capital, Antinoopolis. There, from around 556 to 573, he earned a living as a notary. He then returned to Aphrodite, bringing with him copies of many of the notarial instruments and petitions he had drawn up in Antinoopolis. He died apparently shortly after 585.¹⁸

A number of the papyri preserved among Dioscorus' papers were on publication early on, and some are still today, intensively studied: the codex with the Menander comedies of course¹⁹, but also the Greek-Coptic glossary Dioscorus compiled to extend his knowledge of Greek vocabulary, especially poetic²⁰, the many studiously crafted poems he wrote on diverse occasions (encomia, epithalamia, etc.)²¹, the petitions drawn up for presentation to the provincial governor, the Duke of the Thebaid, the imperial rescripts and other legal and procedural documents that Dioscorus retained in his 'files'.²² Also attracting notice when revealed in the papyri were the village's claim to special tax-status, *autopragia* or the right to supervise its own tax-collecting, a privilege dating back to the emperor Leo (457-474), and its claim to have placed itself under the special protection of the emperor Justinian's wife, Theodora.²³

Surely, therefore, the village of Aphrodite was more than an ordinary Byzantine Egyptian village. Apart from its claims to *autopragia* and to sovereign protection, it was able to send delegations to Constantinople to defend its rights at the imperial court²⁴. It had, moreover, in earlier times been the capital city of its own administrative district (*nome*); but by the sixth century at least, it had lost its metropolitan status and it and its surrounding territory were annexed to Antaeopolis. Aphrodite was reduced to village status in the Antaeopolite *territorium*²⁵. Even as a village, however, Aphrodite retained a preeminence over nearby satellite villages²⁶. *Phthia* and *Thronachthe* are the ones most frequently mentioned by the papyri²⁷. The papyri furthermore tend to distinguish Aphrodite the village (*κῆμα*) from its environs (*ἐκτός*), and sometimes to classify portions of the latter as vineyards, farms

or pasturages (*κτῆματα*, *γεωρῖα*, *βοσκήματα*). Land parcels are commonly noted as being situated in one of the village's 'plains' (*πεδῶδες*), named for the four cardinal geographical directions. Plots are also often not measured exactly, but rather identified through an intricate, no doubt familiar, naming-system²⁸. Their boundaries are sometimes described as ancient or traditional (*ἀρχαῖα*, *καλὰν*). Near the village were many monasteries, and in the village proper the buildings most frequently named in the papyri are the churches²⁹. There was the usual village storehouse, and in addition to the expected houses of ordinary amenities were, as one papyrus puts it, the 'prominent, brilliant dwellings of the village's ancient great landlords'³⁰.

Despite the existence of such houses, however, and despite the presence of great landowners, in particular a certain Count Ammonius³¹, at Aphrodite, the sixth-century Aphrodite papyri, unlike contemporary papyri from Oxyrhynchus, do not concern themselves with the economic activities and political fortunes of rich and powerful magnates³². Rather, the Aphrodite papyri, since they are the product of their now far-dispersed papers, largely concern the affairs of men of more modest means, however prominent they may have been in village society: the 'small-holders', οἱ λεπτοκλήτορες. These in fact so dominated the village scene that one papyrus refers to the village as consisting of small-holders³³.

For certain purposes the Aphrodite landowners were part of a *collegium* 'of village headmen and contributaries and landowners'.³⁴ I have not yet determined whether the order of the terms of the membership in the group -- village headmen, contributaries, landowners -- is an ascending (or descending) order of importance; or whether the terms simply refer to different aspects of the same men: liturgical or social (village headmen), fiscal (contributaries), agrarian (landowners). Nevertheless, whatever the answer to that question, it is evident that members of the *collegium* were the core of the village, that they monitored the village's corporate responsibility for taxes, ordinary and extraordinary, and saw to the village's protection and stability in other regards as well. It was, for example, through two village headmen that Dioscorus' father, Apollos, was empowered on one occasion to act on behalf of the village at the provincial capital in Antinoopolis³⁵. The small-holders sent petitions to the governor of the province³⁶ and were no doubt responsible for selecting delegates to press the village's claims in Constantinople, the queen of cities herself³⁷. The *collegium* of village headmen, contributaries and landowners further saw to the 'formalizing' of its members' relationships with another *collegium*, that of the village shepherds. The traditional service

of the shepherds as fieldguards (ἀγροφύλακες), for reasons uncertain but on which we may speculate, was rendered formal by a contract drawn up in A.D. 514, binding them to the landowners and to that service in specific terms.³⁸

The names of quite a few of the village's sixth-century elite are known. There is considerable information about some of them³⁹, but only a few have received detailed study. Apollos and Dioscorus were discussed by Maspero and Bell; but their 'biographies' can now be written in somewhat greater detail. I had recent occasion myself to investigate the dozen or so papyri that concern a less well-known member of the village elite, the contributory Aurelius Phoibammon son of Triadelphus⁴⁰. That study reveals Phoibammon, who was active from at least A.D. 526 to at least A.D. 572, to have been a man who made a good living by serving as an intermediary between absentee landholding intercessors in the village (lands owned by monasteries, churches, and government officials) and the labor that could be supplied by the village peasants. Through this type of entreprenuring⁴¹, he acquired money and produce beyond what was needed for his own use. He also acquired land, and never seems to have rested content with what he had, but always seems to have used his current means to accumulate more for the future. Phoibammon's career raises the question whether others of the Aphrodite elite were operating in the same way⁴² and whether they and their families were en route to becoming great landowners by the time of the invasions (Persian, then Arab) in the seventh century. Whether that was the case or not, there is certainly enough evidence for a much-needed study of the Aphrodite village elite as a whole, as there is for many other subjects. For example, the Aphrodite papyri may supply enough data to enable us to construct a model calendar of the typical cycle of events in the villagers' year⁴³.

To close in brief: The rich vein of Aphrodite evidence for village life in Byzantine Egypt has only begun to be tapped, and there may well be some truth in the idea suggested to me that Aphrodite can stand as the Byzantine Egyptian counterpart to Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's medieval French village Montaillou⁴⁴. For Egypt, the Aphrodite papyrus-evidence is valuable in providing a counterweight to that of Oxyrhynchus, evidence that needs to be investigated toward modifying or redressing the long-held scholarly views about Byzantine Egypt as a land primarily dominated by politically connected great magnates whose lands were farmed by quasi-servile tenants⁴⁵. For the Byzantine Empire in the sixth century, the papyri of Aphrodite are valuable in helping

to reconstruct the rhythm of ordinary life amid the grand wars and projects of Justinian, those events that are described in the pages of Procopius, Agathias and Malalas and in the texts of the emperor's many laws⁴⁶. Much work remains to be done on the sixth-century Greek papyri from Aphrodite. The prospect of what contemporary Coptic papyri may have to offer is truly an exciting one; their evidence, I am sure all would agree, is indispensable for a full and balanced study of the village⁴⁷.

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NOTES

- * Originally a paper read on the invitation of Dr Gladys Frantz-Murphy for a panel at a meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, in Boston, on 15 March 1981. The text printed here is slightly revised; notes have been substantially expanded.
1. D. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* I, 1 (Leipzig-Berlin 1912). 2. Abbreviations for papyrological publications cited in this paper follow the conventions set out in Oates, Bagnall and Willis, *Checklist of editions of Greek papyri and ostraca*², *BASP* suppl. 1 (1978).
2. On the rediscovery of the ancient Greek papyri, see, among other works, E.G. Turner, *Greek papyri: an introduction* (Oxford 1968) chaps. II-IV; and the supplementary notes to the expanded paperback edition (Oxford 1980) on pp. 200-202; L. Deuel, *Testaments of time: the search for lost manuscripts and records* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1970) chaps. IV-X. Papyrologists sometimes distinguish early (i.e. late third-fourth century) from late (fifth-early seventh century) Byzantine; but both these subdivisions are of course 'early' from the standpoint of Byzantinists.
3. The earlier published Ptolemaic papyri are best synthesized in Cl. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels 1939), and M. Rostovtzeff, *The social and economic history of the Hellenistic world*, 3 vols. (Oxford 1941). Recent additions to the corpus of Ptolemaic papyri and trends in recent scholarship on the period were discussed by R.S. Bagnall in a paper on 'Papyrology and Ptolemaic history, 1956-1980' at a meeting of the Association of Ancient Historians in Ann Arbor in May 1981 (=CW). The most recent synthesis is Cl. Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique*, 2 vols. (Paris 1978). For Ptolemaic decrees, see the collection of M.-Th. Lenger, *C.Ord.Ptol.*, 2nd ed. corrected and updated, 1980.
4. *Editio princeps* of the funeral oration by L. Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 217-283. Recent articles on the same papyrus include: M.W. Haslam, 'Augustus' funeral oration for Agrippa,' *CJ* 75 (1979-80) 193-199, and E. Badian, 'Notes

on the *Laudatio* of Agrippa,' *CJ* 76 (1980-81) 97-107. For papyri and Roman imperial history, particularly for the scholarship from 1960 to 1975, see A.K. Bowman, *JRS* 66 (1976) 153-173. See also Turner's supplementary notes, pp. 206-207, and my own paper, 'Papyrology and Roman history, 1956-1980,' delivered before the Association of Ancient Historians in May 1981 and now published in *CW* 76 (1982) 23-31.

5. Cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Opera minora II* (Warsaw 1959) 113-114; M. Amelotti and G. Luzzatto, *Le costituzioni giustiniane nei papiri e nelle epigrafi* (Milan 1972); Keenan, 'The case of Flavia Christodote: observations on *PSI* I 76,' *ZPE* 29 (1978) 191-209; a good example: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67028.

6. For a chronological listing of Aphrodite papyri, no longer complete, see A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* I, 2 (Madrid 1966) 303ff.; the first item in this list is to be eliminated (see L.S.B. MacCoull, 'The first appearance of Aphrodite in the papyri,' *ZPE* [to appear]); cf. G. Malz, 'The papyri of Dioscorus: publications and emendations,' *Studi Calderini-Paribeni II* (Milan 1957) 345-356. (J. Gascou has now compiled a complete list of all corrections to sixth-century Aphrodite papyri, from the *BI* and other published works.) Two recent volumes of papyri from Aphrodite are Sijpesteijn's *P.Mich.* XIII (1977) and Pintaudi's *P.Vatic.Aphrod.* (1980). Generally on the 'capricious nature' of papyrus finds: Turner, chap. IV. See also D. Hagedorn, 'Papyri aus Panopolis in der K81ner Sammlung,' *Proc. XII Intl.Congr.Papyrol.* (Toronto 1970) 207-208.

7. See Bell's *P.Lond.* IV preface (1910), *P.Lond.* V introduction (1917); *P.Cair.Masp.* I (1911), II (1913), III (1916), the last Maspero volume published posthumously, Maspero having fallen in battle at Vauquois on the Lorraine front on 18 February 1915; Malz (preceding note) 345-346. Mr T.S. Pattie, on consulting Museum records, informs me (letter of 9 September 1981) that British Museum 'inventory numbers 1200-1520 and 1545-1753 were purchased of the Rev. C. Murch on 20 November 1903 and 8 December 1906 respectively.' Murch clearly 'negotiated the British Museum's payment for many Coptic and Greek manuscripts obtained in Egypt by Budge. For Murch, who died in 1907, cf. Dawson and Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*² (London 1972) 209-210. H.I. Bell, *JHS* 64 (1944) 22, mentions other British Museum acquisitions made '[s]ome twenty years after the original discovery'; still unpublished, but now under study by L. Papini and R. Pintaudi.

8. *P.Cair.Masp.* III, p. viii.

9. *P.Ross.-Georg.* IV, pp. v-vi.

10. L.S.B. MacCoull, *Greek and Coptic papyri in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Diss. Catholic University of America 1973), p. v. To be republished by J. Gascou and MacCoull in *Yravanx et mémoires* (Paris).

11. These four papyri were '[l]isted in the catalogue of sale of the collections of Jean P. Lambros, Athens, and Giovanni Dattari, Cairo, sold in Paris, 17-19 June 1912, under *Collection Giovanni Dattari du Caire*, group 616 as "inscriptions démotiques sur papyrus".' - G. Malz, 'Three papyri of Dioscorus

at the Walters Art Gallery,' *AJP* 60 (1939) 170-177 at 170 n.1. Dattari was a numismatist, antiquities collector and dealer resident in Cairo; he first worked for Thomas Cook and Son, then as 'a purveyor to the British Army in Egypt'; Dawson and Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, 76-77.

12. General listing of locations in which Aphrodite papyri are now to be found: Calderini, *Dizionario*, 302-303, *P.Mich.* XIII, p. ix. Michigan: *P.Mich.* XIII (these papyri 'were purchased for the University of Michigan collection in 1943 from Mr Thomas Whittemore, then Director of the Byzantine Institute of America (Boston)' - editor's preface, p. ix). Vatican: R. Pintaudi, *XVI Intl.Congr.Papyrol. Abstracts* (New York 1980) 61; *P.Vatic.Aphrod.* These papyri were given to the Vatican by Jean Ioresse in 1961. For the Geneva Dioscorus papyri (acquired in Egypt by Jules Nicole in 1907) see Cl. Wehrli, *Proc. XVI Intl.Congr.Papyrol.* (Chico 1981) 487-490. Jean Gascou has now compiled a complete listing of all sixth-century Aphrodite papyri (alphabetical by collection).

13. *P.Coll.Youtie* 92. The combined document had been drafted by Dioscorus (see below) during his years in Antinopolis and brought back by him to Aphrodite on his return.

14. Brief bibliographical conspectus in O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (Turin 1973) 261; see now Y. Ragib in *JNES* 40 (1981) 173-187.

15. Cf., however, *P.Lond.* IV 1494-1646, V 1709 for Coptic texts that did get published; MacCoull (above n. 10); some of the pieces in P.V. Jernstedt, *Koptiske tekster Gosudarstvennogo Ermitagea* (Moscow-Leningrad 1959), papyri that had been part of the Lichačov collection. See now L.S.B. MacCoull, 'The Coptic archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodite,' *Cd'E* 56 (1981) 185-193.

16. Calderini, *Dizionario*, 303-308; *P.Vatic.Aphrod.* 1 (598). The concentration of Greek papyrus evidence from Aphrodite peaks in the decade of the 550s; see R.S. Nagall/K.A. Worp, 'Papyrus documentation in Egypt from Justinian to Heraclius,' *BES* 1 (1979) 5-10.

17. Keenan, 'Aurelius Apollon and the Aphrodite village elite,' paper at the XVII International Congress of Papyrology, Naples, May 1983.

18. In addition to the (outdated) article by Bell, see the thumbnail sketches on Dioscorus by Keydell in *RE* suppl. 6 (1935) 27-29, and by Schubart in *Einführung in die Papyrskunde* (Berlin 1918) 145-147. See now the forthcoming works of MacCoull, 'Dioscorus and the dukes: an aspect of Coptic Hellenism in the sixth century,' to appear in *BS/EB* 11 (1984); and her full-length monograph *Dioscorus of Aphrodite: his work and his world*. For Dioscorus' Antinopolite years, see the detailed discussion in *P.Lond.* V 1674 intro. Some of the papyri Dioscorus drafted in Antinopolis are conveniently grouped as *P.Lond.* V 1707-1718 and *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151-67167. Dioscorus commonly used the reverse sides of those documents for writing his poems and Greek exercises; Malz, p. 349 (and see the forthcoming work of A. Wouters on the grammatical works). A sidelight on what was thought to be a connexion between Dioscorus and the imperial

- circus factions: B. Baldwin in *ZPE* 42 (1981) 285-286.
19. New photographs of the Cairo Codex, prepared by Henry Riad and A. Selim, were published by the Institute of Classical Studies (London 1978). Cf. F.H. Sandbach, 'Notes on the Cairo codex of Menander' (*P.Cair.J.* 43227) *ZPE* 40 (1980) 47-52.
20. R.I. Bell/W.E. Crum, 'A Greek-Coptic glossary,' *Aegyptus* 6 (1925) 177-226.
21. J. Maspero, 'Un dernier poète grec d'Égypte: Dioscore fils d'Apollōs,' *REG* 24 (1911) 426-481; H.J.M. Milne, *Catalogue of literary papyri in the British Museum* (London 1927) pp. 68-80. The poems are being published, with commentaries, in the forthcoming monograph (chap. II) of MacCoull (above n. 18). (See Heitsch, *Griech. Dichterfragmente d.röm. Kaiserzeit* [Göttingen 1961] XLII.)
22. Rescripts and related documents: the rich scholarly literature is surveyed by A.A. Schiller, 'The courts are no more,' *Studi Volterra* I (Milan 1969, publ. 1971) 469-502.
23. Early discussion on Aphrodite's autopraxia by M. Gelzer in *Archiv f. Pap.* 5 (1913) 188-189 and 346-377. Cf. Maspero's introduction to *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283. See now G. Geracl in *Actes XV^e Intl. Congr. Papyrol.* (Brussels 1979) IV.195-205.
24. Synoptic discussion in A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* (Oxford 1964) 407-408.
25. Evidence for most of what follows is compiled in Calderini, *Dizionario* 303-414. Other data I have collected myself.
26. The student of this feature of Aphrodite's existence would do well to bear in mind F. Braudel's formulation in his well-known essay on 'History and the social sciences':
Every town, being as it is a society built on tension, with its crises, sudden changes, temporary breakdowns, and its constant need to plan, must be considered in the context of the rural complex which surrounds it and the networks formed by neighboring towns. ...
The essay, translated by Sian France, was reprinted in F. Stern, ed., *The varieties of history: from Voltaire to the present*² (New York 1973) 403-429 (quoted from p. 419); more recently in F. Braudel, *On History*, tr. S. Matthews (Chicago 1980) 25-54 (complete version with notes.) (Cf., however, *P.Mich.* XIII 661.11, *civitas Afroditensis*.)
27. Phthia: Cf., e.g., *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67105, II 67134, III 67149, 67326-27; *P.Flor.* III 296; *P.Lond.* V 1660.10 note, 1665-1666; *PSI* VIII 935; *BKT* V 117ff., line 78 (=Heitsch XLII.3.78) (identification by Maspero in *BZ* 19 [1910] 1-6). Thmonachthe (variously spelled): e.g., *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67143 and line 4 note, III 67329; *P.Lond.* V 1668.7 note, 1689; *P.Mich.* XIII 670; Calderini, *Dizionario* 317. For another village, Mounkrekis, see *P.Lond.* V 1682 and line 3 n.

28. For this feature of agrarian existence, i.e. 'land onomastics', cf. Marc Bloch, *French rural history: an essay on its basic characteristics*, tr. J. Sondheimer (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1966) 38-39. For measurement (*μείρεσις*) of land at Aphrodite, however, cf. *P.Mich.* XIII 659.225 ff., and for the frequently mentioned land registration at Aphrodite (which had also to entail its measurement) under John the censor, see A. Claus, 'O EXOAAETIMOI' (Diss. Köln 1965) 118 ff.; L. Papini (working from the Vatican Coptic parallels to *P.Michael.*) in *BSAC* 25 (1983) 83-89.
29. Churches and monasteries: Calderini, *Dizionario* 325-340. An interesting point of departure for churches is *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283, an affidavit submitted and signed by, *inter alios*, priests of ten of the village's churches.
30. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, II, 24: *ἐὰν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν ἀρχαίων κλητόρων μεγάλων τῆς κώμης*. *P.Mich.* XIII has brought new and interesting information on the topography of the village proper, to be added to what Calderini gives, *Dizionario* 323-325; 660 (village phylake); 662, seventh century (the village evidently divided into *μέρη* named for the principal compass points; a public road; a dilapidated house and its neighbors; public record office, *ἐνδοσίον ἀρχεῖον*); 665 (various houses and their owners and owners' positions or occupations; a public road; Solomon's road; road of the Holy Catholic Church). Village storehouse (*τὸ ἐνδοσίον*); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, II, 24-25. *P.Lond.* V 1694 mentions temporary sheepfolds (line 23 and note) and a village threshing floor (line 27).
31. Count Ammonius: E.R. Hardy, *The large estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931) *passim* (and see the forthcoming work of J. Thomas). Texts on Count Ammonius are listed in *P.Ross.-Georg.* III 37.3 note. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060 (=W.Chr. 297) mentions οἱ μεγάλοι κητόρες τῆς πόλεως (presumably Antaeopolis), and in particular the estate (οἶκος) of Julianus, former eparch, *συντελοῦσα εἰς τὸ κομνηνικόν* (no doubt Aphrodite's). See now J. Gasco, *Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Égypte byzantine* (5^e, 6^e et 7^e s. (Paris, to appear).
32. Byzantine Oxyrhynchus: H. MacLennan, *Oxyrhynchus* (Princeton 1935, repr. Amsterdam 1968); I.F. Fikman, *Oxyrhynchus, city of the papyri* (Moscow 1976) (in Russian).
33. *P.Lond.* V 1674, intro. and lines 95-96: *ἀπὸ λεπτοκλήτρων γὰρ σύγκειται ἡ κώμη*. In *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002.2 the *parvi possessores* call themselves 'wretched' (*ἀσχεῖν*), but how much of this wretchedness was rhetorical, how much real, is open to question. Recently, for the reality of their misery: G.E.M. de Ste Croix, *The class struggle in the ancient Greek world* (Ithaca 1981) 212-213, 223-224 and 584 n.39.
34. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67001.3-4: *τῇ κοινότητι τῶν πρωτοκλήτρων καὶ συντελεστών καὶ κλητόρων κώμη[ς] Ἀφροδίτης τοῦ Ἀνταιοπολίτου νομοῦ*.
35. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67124.
36. E.g., *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002.

37. Briefly: Keenan, 'On law and society in late Roman Egypt,' *ZPE* 17 (1975) 237-250, at 244, 246.
38. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67001. Shepherds figure frequently in the Aphrodite papyri. Another important papyrus on them, with frequent links to 67001, is *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67328, a series of guarantees for shepherds who were also agrophylakes. A troublesome shepherd figures in *P.Lond.* V 1682. These and other texts on Aphrodite shepherds merit collection and separate study.
39. V.A. Girgis, *Prosopografia e Aphroditopolis* (Berlin 1938; to be superseded by the prosopography planned as part of a Guide to the sixth-century Aphrodite archives by K.A. Worp et al.) *passim*.
40. 'Aurelius Phoibammon, son of Triadelphus: a Byzantine Egyptian land entrepreneur,' *BASP* 17 (1980) 145-154. Another Phoibammon papyrus has been published in R. Pintaudi's edition of Aphrodite papyri in the Vatican Library as *P.Vatic.Aphrod.* 10. That text indicates, *inter alia*, that the rashest speculation on the last page of my *BASP* article (that Phoibammon may have been without family) needs modification (he was, at least, married to Apollos' sister's daughter), but confirms the impression of Phoibammon as something of a land entrepreneur. *P.Vatic.Aphrod.* 14 is the top of a fragmentary contract in which appears Flavius Samuel the soldier, who also figures prominently in the *BASP* article.
41. I am convinced Phoibammon fulfills, at least in part, some of the specifications of the entrepreneur, particularly in his 'forging a link' between 'unconnected circuits', in Phoibammon's case, the link between absentee landlords, monasteries, churches and the village work force. See I.M. Lewis, *Social anthropology in perspective* (Harmondsworth 1976) 230-233, cf. Schumpeter's model of the entrepreneur as summarized in F. Braudel, *On history*, p. 60.
42. Assorted papyri (e.g. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67134-35, III 67326-27; *P.Lond.* V 1690, 1702 and intro.; *PSI* VIII 933; *P.Ross.-Georg.* III 37) seem to indicate that Dioscorus' father Apollos, a relative by marriage to Phoibammon (see *P.Vatic.Aphrod.* 10), operated much in the manner of his in-law, perhaps even more extensively and successfully. I hope to discuss these, and other Apollos papyri in this connection in the near future.
43. For a possible model: George C. Homans, *English villagers of the thirteenth century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), chap. XXIII. The Aphrodite papyri mention various 'seasons' or 'times' (καιροί) for doing things (the annual excursion to Thinis, the time for the sitopompia, threshing time, harvest time, etc.), and there is an interesting section of an account (*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67141, V, r) recording dated payments for certain saints' feast-days; but there is little doubt that the Aphrodite calendar, if feasible, will have to be reconstructed from the numerous specific dates given on all the varied papyri and types that make up the Aphrodite archives.
44. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: the promised land of error*, tr. B. Bray (New York 1979). Suggestion brought to my attention by Mr P.J. Parsons, deriving, as I recall, ultimately from Prof. R. Duncan-Jones. Whether the

- colorfulness of the Aphrodite characters can match those of Montaillou, given the nature of the evidence available for the respective villages, is, however, doubtful.
45. Cf. Keenan (above, n. 37) and *idem*, 'Egyptian society in Late Antiquity,' *ANRW* (forthcoming).
46. This might be reformulated in the more general terms frequently employed by F. Braudel in his essays *On history*, or, e.g., in the preface to *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II*, tr. S. Reynolds (New York 1976) 17-22.
47. Cf. MacCoull's paper in *Cd'E* noted above (note 15) and Bagnall's review of *P.Vatic.Aphrod.* in *BASP* 18 (1981) 177-181. I am grateful to Prof. Bagnall for sending me a copy of that review in advance of publication, as well as other materials that aided me in revising the present paper.